2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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Marriage customs were attacked in two ways: legally and ethically. Toward the close of this period the government program called for an attempt on the part of officials of the Indian service to insist upon civil marriage under the laws of the United States, to oppose wife-purchase and the marriage of the young girls, to register civilly the marriages of those living together in accordance with old customs, and to oppose easy separation and divorce. Since the individual men and women were becoming possessors of private property in the form of land, houses, stock and implements, by controlling the inheritance of estates in terms of the white man's law, and refusing to recognize "wives" not legally married, the program began to have an effect. After 1883 missionaries of the Home Missionary Society and the Methodist Episcopal Church worked in the tribe, and developed a small congregation of church members. The missionary influence was brought to bear against the Pawnee marriage usages from a moral angle. The agent cooperated with the missionaries in persuading the Pawnee to go through a Christian marriage ceremony as well as to secure a legal certificate. By 1890 officials claimed in their reports that the Pawnee were regularly seeking the missionary to perform the marriage ceremony for them: that by prompt action they had prevented all cases which came to their attention of "selling girls for ponies": and that while polygyny had not been stamped out, there were no new cases of a wife being taken where the man already had a wife. A final claim was that divorces were unknown, or rare, which is to be doubted.

The dancing, gambling and feasting to which the tribe was addicted were marked out as dissipations contributing to indolence, and the agent by the most active measures at his command attempted to prevent social gatherings for such purposes as much as possible. In June 1891 the agent was surprised that the tribe assembled for a dance (probably a ceremony): he ordered it stopped at once and told the people to go to their homes and attend to their work. He could not however enforce his commands, and while some did go, most remained and carried out the dance. Such social affairs kept the people away from their farms for long periods, and the crops were neglected. In the old days the Pawnee methods of cultivation were adjusted to their calendric rituals, and by June, when the time for the hunt and summer ceremonies came, the crops were "laid by"; the tribe was not yet adjusted to intensive cultivation, involving constant care.

The conflict with the Pawnee medicine men was long and difficult. The government was determined to destroy their power over the people, and to persuade the Pawnee to depend on the

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
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braced Lone Chief as he got off the horse and directed him to sit down on the buffalo robe. Then the braves got hold of the buffalo robe and carried him into the lodge, setting him down in his place near the door. Now all the Tsawis were singing—the old men and the old women, and when the rest of us seven arrived in a crowd, they gave us everything they were wearing—their blankets, leggings, and finally the Tsawis had almost nothing on. 539 927

"Now three old Skidi women came led by Grieves-the-Enemy. She was dressed to commemorate her war deed, when she had saved the village from the attacking Poncas by impersonating a medicine man. She had her hair all tied up in a knot at the front of her head to one side. She had black soot across her eyes. She was saying to the other two old women, 'Here's his lodge. I want you two old women to sing.' As soon as they sang and danced with their sticks, the Tsawis gave the three old ladies calico and other gifts."

This was the end of the story that War Cry had started and Shot Arm continued. The Pipe of Peace, beloved of Heaven, had brought them victory as they defended their village. 538

Now the real session that they had all been waiting for would begin and continue all night. First Old-Man-That-Chief and then the others told real old time stories. For the most part they described their experiences as they moved from place to place abroad in the land in times past. With vivid imagery and detail they described each location and its events. It was in just such a meeting right after they returned from the winter hunt, after the warriors and chiefs had told their stories that the old men would take up the question of the calendar and whether they needed to introduce the thirteenth intercalary month that year. Warrior would tell an old war story and also That-Chief and then Good-Land would begin to speak of what year it is. He would talk of the stars —of how when people are lost, they must find their way back by following them. Then he would say of the moon that when it is low, we must put on something warm for it might rain or snow at any time. If you are far off you will need something warm to weather the storm. And after the storm is over you look at the stars and find your way back. Now the conversation turned to specific stars—which ones are appearing now, and how one star that shines brightly in spring brings a big wind when it gets to a certain place. Also, that there are sometimes two or three stars that act together. Good-Land continued with some experiences that had taught him about these things. He told of how a man who went south to Oklahoma with a big party strayed off on the way back. In the day he was able to follow the sun and calculate the east and north, going by north and a little eastward. At night he walked right under [805] 538 821 484

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538 821 484 the north star, and going a little to the east, even though it was night, he was able to overtake his companions. "This happened many times," he said.

538 821 805 Another old man would take up where he left off and tell more stories in the same vein. "Because the stars and the planets appear to be moving, the Indians believe the earth is still." Then they began to argue about the question of "the thirteenth month." Some said, "Not now," others thought this was the time. They spoke of the position of the constellations, "first one snake, then two ducks and then the real rattlesnakes (Scorpio). That marks the beginning of the year—the spring. The months should coincide with these constellations." Of the regular twelve months, nine were named for familiar activities—clearing, planting, cultivating, hunting, and harvest—while the tenth and eleventh were paired and named after the constellations—little duck (*kiwakski*) and big duck (*kiwaks-kutsu*). The twelfth month was called *kaata*, darkness. It was through the observation of the position of the constellations that the regular month names had to be set in their proper course for the various activities for which they were named. In the year when the intercalary month was introduced, the two duck months were thought of as being paired, and then *kaata*, darkness, paired with the introduced month; the rest of the months of the year being paired accordingly, with the fifth month, viz., the June 19–July 18 month "standing alone." This was the month when one went off on the summer hunt. The thirteenth or intercalary month, had a variety of names, the most usual being Entrance Passageway to the earth lodge, *Puhuweturukut*, or the Skidi version, *Puhuwaturukat*, the long 10- or 15-foot entranceway. Alternative names had various references: If it had thundered from the north (rather than the south) when they got back, they thought the cold weather would last late into the spring and they called the month, *Paruks-ti-taka*, Thunder or Storm-It-Is-White, for the snow they expected to have. Another name for this month was Hidden Child, *pira-paru*, "child-hidden," the Pawnee equivalent of our "illegitimate child." The reference was to abortion for it was said that the abandoned foetus was more conspicuous on the snow during that season than on the bare ground. A further name, *atatpiiwa*, is of unknown significance. From this example, it should be clear that the story-telling session was not a mere leisure pastime. Through it was transmitted history, climatology, theology, the logistics of war, topography, and many other important facets of Pawnee knowledge. Such a session was an invaluable preamble to setting out on the winter hunt.

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538 517 [224]

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526 [773] ers played the field once toward the north and once toward the south and then two other players got up and played their round.

The paraphernalia of *the mature men* differed from that of the youths in the size of the ring and in the complexity of the spear. The ring of the youths was about 8 inches in diameter, probably built on a wooden hoop wrapped in buckskin, while the mature men used a very small hoop, 4 inches in diameter, with strips of rawhide as a base, wrapped around with the buckskin string. The mature men's wheel was called, *ks-tats-awi-katus*, "hand-down-hanging-flat." The spear was about 5½ feet long. The pole was completely wound around with a strip of buckskin and at the hand end there was a large hook completely wrapped around with the same material. The shaft was slightly tapered from the hand end to the point. About three-eighths of the length in from the point the shaft was somewhat flattened and a cross piece was lashed onto it with a small hook fastened on top in the lashings. A similar cross piece with hook was fastened about one-eighth way in from the point end. It was with these small hooks that they aimed to catch onto the hoop or else with the ends of the cross pieces. The shaft used by the youths was plain wood with a knob on the end to represent the bison penis. At the hand end were fastened two hooks wrapped around with buckskin.

526 887 There was a game *played by old men* with a very large hoop (possibly 25 inches in diameter) with no spear. The hoop itself was rolled and aimed at one of the players of the opposing side as a kind of tag. The players lined up along both sides of the grounds and when the player had rolled the wheel and it struck one of the men standing on the opposing side to his, the man who was hit would spread his blanket and begin to run, while the other man pursued him. If he stumbled and tripped on his blanket, he would be caught and would then have to roll the hoop and try to tag a man of the other side. If the pursuer stumbled, he would have to roll the hoop again. The special play of the game was called *kiskiru'*.

526 821 The wheel itself was called *ka-huraru*, literally, inside-land or "land of inside" which in Pawnee referred to the universe. The circumference of the wheel represented the horizon and it was marked off into twelve sections with bunches of feathers that were fastened on at equal intervals. [805] Each section represented a thirty-day lunar month of the twelve-month year. The four seasons of the year were marked off on the hoop by different colors for each quarter-arc. The winter quarter was white, the spring quarter light green, the summer quarter darker green, and the autumn, reddish-yellow. The universe was conceived as having a flat base and rotating around the motionless earth, the progression of the seasons resulting from this rotation. This had been inferred from the fact that the stars and the planets appear to have changed their positions with the seasons. Across the diameter was stretched a string of buckskin or sinew